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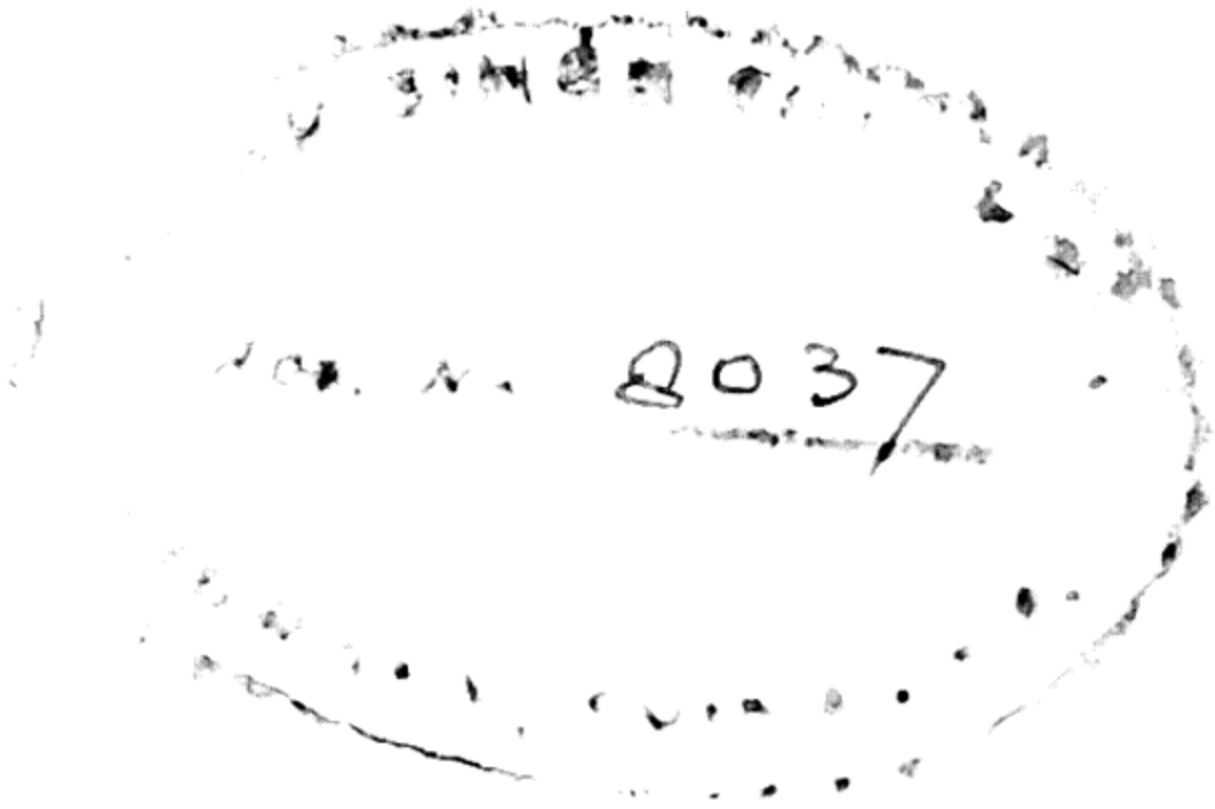
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ESSAYS

BY

FRANCIS BACON

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ESSAYS

BY

FRANCIS BACON



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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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FRANCIS BACON

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THE ESSAYES OR COVNSELS, CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. *VERVLAM*,

VISCOVNT St. ALBAN.

Newly written.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET.
1625.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD Lo. THE DVKE of *Buckingham*

his *Grace*, Lo.

High *Admirall* of *England*.

EXCELLENT Lo.

SALOMON saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment;* And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes;* which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the *King:* My *Historie* of *HENRY the Seuenth*, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions* of *Naturall History*, to the *Prince:* And these I dedicate

to your *Grace;* Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* giues to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and
faithfull Seruant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

8037

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Of Truth

I.

WHAT *is Truth;* said jesting *Pilate;* And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddinesse; And count it a Bondage, to fix a Beleefe; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth;* Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth vpon mens Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in fauour: But a naturall, though corrupt Loue, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should loue *Lies;* Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Aduantage, as with the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth,* is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A

mixture of a *Lie* doth euer adde Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leaue the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and vnpleasing to themselues? One of the Fathers, in great Seuerity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum;* because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoeuer these things are thus, in mens depraued Iudgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth iudge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Loue-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe of *Truth*, which is the Enioying of it; is the Soueraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke, euer since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, vpon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand vpon the shore, and to see ships tost vpon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of*

a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Aduentures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, vpon the vantage ground of Truth: (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below:* So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heauen vpon Earth, to haue a Mans Minde Moue in Charitie, Rest in Prouidence, and Turne vpon the Poles of *Truth*.

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth* of ciuill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, euen by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Siluer; which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely vpon the belly, and not vpon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so couer a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigny* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is braue towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it

shall be the last Peale, to call the Iudgements of God, vpon the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith vpon the Earth.*

Of Death

II.

MEn feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of sinne*, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due vnto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he haue but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of *Death* are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolued; when many times, *Death* passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa.* Groanes and Conuulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the obseruing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death:* And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants,

about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphs ouer *Death; Loue* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* preoccupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty* (which is the tenderest of Affections) prouoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay *Seneca* addes *Nicenesse & Saciety; Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiàm Fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely vpon a wearinesse to doe the same thing, so oft ouer and ouer. It is no lesse worthy to obserue, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of *Death* make; For they appeare, to be the same Men, till the last Instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a Complement; *Liuia, Coniugij nostri memor, viue & vale. Tiberius* in dissimulation; As *Tacitus* saith of him; *Iam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserebant. Vespasian* in a Iest; Sitting vpon the Stoole, *Vt puto Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani;* Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Seuerus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. Certainly, the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost vpon *Death*, and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ.* It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest

Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent vpon somewhat, that is good, doth auert the Dolors of *Death:* But aboue all, beleeue it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Enuie.

—— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Of Vnity in Religion

III.

Religion being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of *Vnity*. The Quarrels, and Diuisions about *Religion*, were Euils vnknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Iealous God;* And therefore, his worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Vnity* of the *Church; What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?*

The Fruits of Vnity (next vnto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are *without the Church;* The Other, towards those, *that are within*. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the

Church, and driue Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Vnity:* And therefore, whensoeuer it commeth to that passe, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto;* Another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus;* That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conuenticles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire*, *Goe not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to haue a speciall care of those *without*) saith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with seuerall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in *Religion;* It doth auert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.* It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce of Heretikes.* For indeed, euery Sect of them, hath a Diuers Posture, or Cringe by themselues, which cannot but Moue Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraued Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within;* It is *Peace;* which containeth infinite Blessings: It establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing,

and Reading of Controuersies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Deuotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Vnity;* The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me. Peace* is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Lukewarme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be auoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Sauiour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with vs, is against vs:* And againe; *He that is not against vs, is with vs:* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triuiall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may giue onely this Aduice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controuersies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controuerted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat,

and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame: But the Churches Vesture was of diuers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit;* They be two Things, *Vnity*, and *Vniformity*. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controuerted is great; but it is driuen to an ouer-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Iudgement and vnderstanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselues would neuer agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Iudgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God aboue, that knowes the Heart, doth not discerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controuersies is excellently expressed, by *S^t^. Paul*, in the Warning and Precept, that he giueth, concerning the same, *Deuita profanas vocum Nouitates, & Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ*. Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to gouerne the Terme, the Terme in effect gouerneth the Meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Vnities;* The one, when the Peace is grounded, but vpon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced vp, vpon a direct Admission of

Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay*, *in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image;* They may Cleaue, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Vnity;* Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Vnity*, they doe not Dissolue and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both haue their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take vp the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like vnto it; That is, to propagate *Religion*, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Ouert Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subuersion of all Gouernment, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the first Table, against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he haue said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have beene, Seuen times more

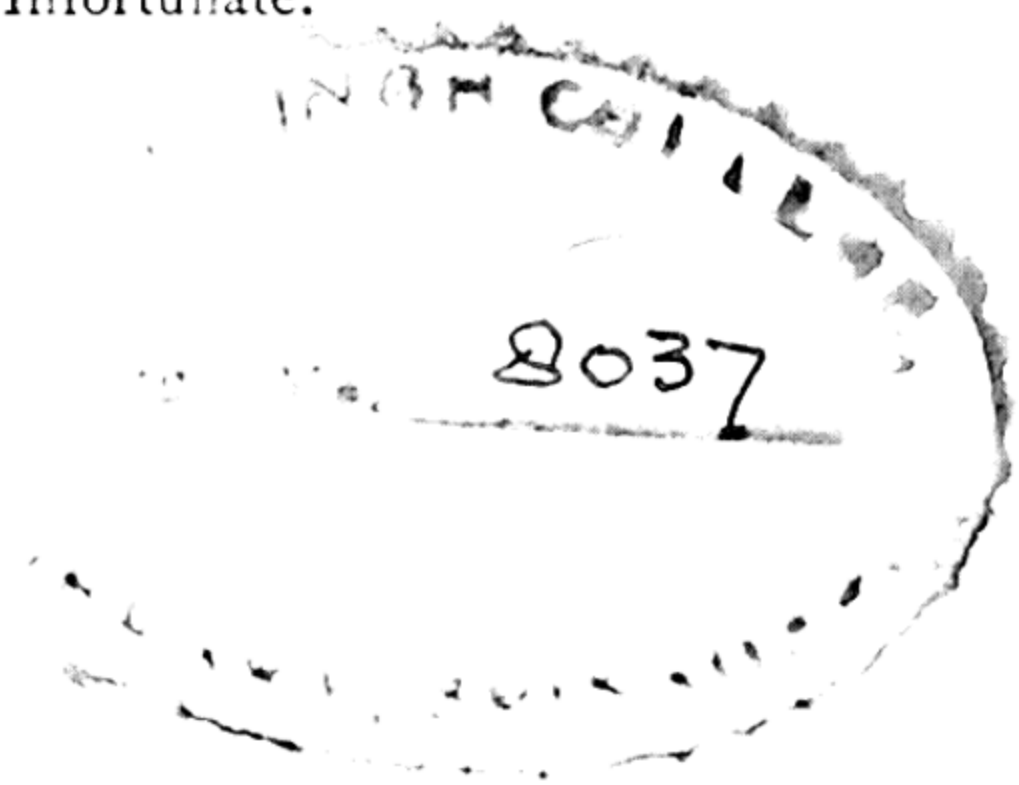
Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great circumspection, in Cases of *Religion;* So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left vnto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Deuill said; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest;* But it is greater Blasphemy, to personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse;* And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion*, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subuersion of States, and Gouernments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Doue, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauen: And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Assassins*. Therfore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for euer, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning *Religion*, that Counsell of the Apostle would be prefixed; *Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei.* And it was a notable Obseruation, of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed; *That those, which held and perswaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interessed therin, themselues, for their owne ends.*

Of Reuenge

IIII.

Reuenge is a kinde of Wilde Iustice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Reuenge* of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking *Reuenge*, A Man is but euen with his Enemy; But in passing it ouer, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and Irreuocable; And wise Men haue Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselues, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for louing himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no other. The most Tolerable Sort of *Reuenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the *Reuenge* be such, as there is no law to punish: Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take *Reuenge*, are Desirous the party should

know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were vnpardonable: *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgiue our Enemies; But you neuer read, that wee are commanded, to forgiue our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Iob*, was in a better tune; *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take euill also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth *Reuenge*, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Reuenges*, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of *Cæsar;* For the Death of *Pertinax;* for the Death of *Henry* the Third of France; And many more. But in priuate *Reuenges* it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicatiue Persons liue the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischieuous, So end they Infortunate.



Of Aduersitie

V. ✓

IT was an high speech of *Seneca* (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Aduersity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Aduersarum, Mirabilia.* Certainly if Miracles, be the Command ouer Nature, they appeare most in Aduersity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to haue in one, the Frailty of a Man, & the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would haue done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, haue beene busy with it; For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to haue some approach, to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when hee went to vnbinde Prometheus* (by whom Humane Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher:* Liuely describing Christian Resolution; that saileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waues of the World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of *Prosperitie*, is Temperance; The Vertue of *Aduersity*, is Fortitude: which in Morals is the

more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the Old Testament; *Aduersity* is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Reuelation of Gods Fauour. Yet, euen in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Dauids* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of *Iob*, then the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes; And *Aduersity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to haue a Liuely Worke, vpon a Sad and Solemne Ground; then to haue a Darke and Melancholy Worke, vpon a Lightsome Ground: Iudge therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discouer Vice; but *Aduersity* doth best discouer Vertue.

Of Simulation
And
Dissimulation

VI.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therfore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith; *Liuia sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, & Dissimulation of her Sonne:* Attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith; *We rise not, against the Piercing Iudgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of Tiberius*. These Properties of *Arts* or *Policy*, and *Dissimulation* or *Closenesse*, are indeed Habits and Faculties, seuerall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, haue that Penetration of Iudgment, as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him, A Habit of *Dissimulation*, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot

obtaine to that Iudgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that euer were, haue had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed, required *Dissimulation*, if then they vsed it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Inuisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first *Closenesse, Reseruation*, and *Secrecy;* when a Man leaueth himselfe without Obseruation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second *Dissimulation*, in the *Negatiue;* when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the Affirmatiue; when a Man industriously, and expressely, faigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy:* It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the *Secret* Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inuiteth Discouerie; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Reuealing is not for worldly vse, but

for the Ease of a Mans Heart, so *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is vncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reuerence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe; *That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall.* And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, giue his Tongue, leaue to Speake. For the Discouery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleeued, then a Mans words.

For the Second, which is *Dissimulation*. It followeth many times vpon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that, he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination, one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equiuocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he

giue himselfe a little Scope of *Dissimulation;* which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearefulnesse; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of vse.

The great *Aduantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call vp, all that are against them. The second is, to reserue to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discouer the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselues aduerse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Prouerbe of the Spaniard; *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth.* As if there were no way of Discouery, but by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disaduantages*, to set it euen. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in any Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying vp to

the Mark. The second, that it pusleth & perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walke, almost alone, to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriueth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleefe*. The best Composition, and Temperature is, to haue *Opennesse* in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Dissimulation* in seasonable vse; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

Of Parents and Children

VII.

THe Ioyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot vtter the one; Nor they will not vtter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours; But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, haue proceeded from *Childlesse Men;* which haue sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies haue failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that haue no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most Indulgent towards their *Children;* Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke; And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their seuerall *Children*, is many times vnequall; And sometimes vnworthy; Especially in the *mother;* As Salomon saith; *A wise sonne reioyceth the Father; but an vngracious sonne shames the Mother*. A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are, as it were forgotten, who, many times, neuerthelesse,

proue the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse. Men haue a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoolemasters, and Seruants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times sorteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene *Children*, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Vncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne *Parent;* As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And let them not too much apply themselues, to the Disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they haue most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good; *Optimum elige, suaue & facile illud faciet Consuetudo. Younger Brothers* are commonly Fortunate, but seldome or neuer, where the *Elder* are disinherited.

Of Marriage and Single Life

VIII.

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath giuen Hostages to Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, haue proceeded from the *vnmarried*, or *Childlesse Men;* which, both in Affection, and Meanes, haue married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason, that those that haue *Children*, should haue greatest care of future times; vnto which, they know, they must transmit, their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts doe end with themselues, and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children*, but as Bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich couetous Men, that take a pride in hauing no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they haue heard some talke; *Such an one is a great rich Man;* And another except to it; *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children:* As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of euery restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to

be Bonds and Shackles. *Vnmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Seruants; but not alwayes best Subiects; For they are light to runne away; And almost all Fugitiues are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church men: For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole. It is indifferent for Iudges and Magistrates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall haue a Seruant, fiue times worse than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatiues, put Men in minde of their *Wiues and Children:* And I thinke the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife* and *Children*, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity: And *single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted, (good to make seuere Inquisitors) because their Tendernesse, is not so oft called vpon. Graue Natures, led by Custome, and therfore constant, are commonly louing *Husbands;* As was said of *Vlysses; Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati.* Chast Women are often Proud, and froward, as Presuming vpon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if She thinke her *Husband* Wise; which She will neuer doe, if She finde him *Iealous*. *Wiues* are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may haue a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he was

reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.* It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*, haue very good *Wiues;* whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the *Wiues* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this neuer failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing, against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.

Of Enuy

IX.

THere be none of the *Affections*, which haue beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but *Loue*, and *Enuy*. They both haue vehement wishes; They frame themselues readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially vpon the presence of the Obiects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Enuy*, An *Euill Eye:* And the Astrologers, call the euill Influences of the Starrs, *Euill Aspects;* So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Enuy*, an Eiaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some haue beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an *Enuious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party enuied* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that sets an Edge vpon *Enuy;* And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Enuied*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leauing these Curiosities, (though not vnworthy, to be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what *Persons are apt to Enuy others; What persons are most Subiect to be Enuied themselues;* And, *What is the Difference between Publique, and priuate Enuy.*

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, euer

enuieth Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed vpon their owne Good, or vpon others Euill; And who wanteth the one, wil prey vpon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at euen hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

A man that is Busy, and Inquisitiue, is commonly *Enuious:* For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate: Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking vpon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Enuy*. For *Enuy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit maleuolus.*

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *enuious* towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceipt of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselues goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Enuious:* For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, vpon a very braue, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The same, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Leuity, and Vaine glory, are euer *Enuious;* For they cannot want worke; It being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Enuied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that haue beene bred together, are more apt to *Enuy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth vpbraid vnto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And *Enuy* euer redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cains Enuy*, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother *Abel;* Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Enuy*.

Concerning *those that are more or lesse subiect to Enuy:* First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are aduanced, are lesse *enuied*. For their Fortune seemeth but due vnto them; and no man *Enuieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Againe, *Enuy* is euer ioyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; And where there is no

Comparison, no *Enuy;* And therfore Kings, are not *enuied*, but by Kings. Neuerthelesse, it is to be noted, that vnworthy Persons, are most *enuied*, at their first comming in, and afterwards ouercome it better; wheras contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *enuied*, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre;* For fresh Men grow vp, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse *enuied*, in their Rising: For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And *Enuy* is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, vpon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then vpon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are aduanced by degrees, are lesse *enuied*, then those that are aduanced suddainly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have ioyned with their Honour, great Trauels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subiect to *Enuy*. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them sometimes; And *Pitty*, euer healeth *Enuy:* Wherefore, you shall obserue that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are euer bemoaning themselues, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of *Enuy*. But this is to be vnderstood, of Businesse, that is laid vpon Men, and not such as they call vnto themselues. For Nothing increaseth *Enuy* more, then an vnnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of

Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Enuy* more, then for a great Person, to preserue all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreenes betweene him, and *Enuy*.

Aboue all, those are most subiect to *Enuy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being neuer well, but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing ouer all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Enuy;* in suffering themselues, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and ouerborne in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Enuy*, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disauow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach others to *Enuy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Enuy*, had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft;* so there is no other Cure of *Enuy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft:* And that is, to remoue the *Lot* (as they call it) & to lay it vpon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in euer vpon the Stage, some Body, vpon whom to deriue the *Enuie*, that would come vpon themselues; Sometimes vpon Ministers, and Ser-

uants; Sometimes vpon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are neuer wanting, some Persons of violent and vndertaking Natures, who so they may haue Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speake of Publique *Enuy*. There is yet some good in *Publique Enuy;* whereas in *Priuate*, there is none. For *Publique Enuy* is as an *Ostracisme*, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This *Enuy*, being in the Latine word *Inuidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment:* Of which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth vpon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Enuy*, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth euen the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Enuy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise vsuall in *Infections;* which if you feare them, you call them vpon you.

This publique *Enuy*, seemeth to beat chiefly, vpon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then vpon Kings, & Estates themselues. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Enuy* vpon the Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if the *Enuy* be generall, in a manner, vpon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the *Enuy* (though hidden) is truly

vpon the State it selfe. And so much of *publike enuy* or *discontentment*, & the difference therof from *Priuate Enuy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of *Enuy;* that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other *Affections*, there is occasion giuen, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Inuidia festos dies non agit*. For it is euer working vpon some, or other. And it is also noted, that *Loue* and *Enuy*, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraued; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Deuill, who is called; *The Enuious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*. As it alwayes commeth to passe, that *Enuy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

Of Loue

X.

THe Stage is more beholding to *Loue*, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Loue* is euer matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischiefe: Sometimes like a *Syren;* Sometimes like a *Fury*. You may obserue, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Loue:* which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neuerthelesse, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of the Empire of *Rome;* and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemuir*, and Lawgiuer: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Loue* can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore Saying of *Epicurus; Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus:* As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heauen, and all Noble Obiects, should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was giuen him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse

of this Passion; And how it braues, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but in *Loue*. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers haue Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the *Louer* is more. For there was neuer Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the *Louer* doth of the Person *loued:* And therefore, it was well said; *That it is impossible to loue, and to be wise.* Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party *Loued;* But to the *Loued*, most of all: except the *Loue* be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Loue* is euer rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Iuno*, and *Pallas*. For whosoeuer esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisedome*. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie;* and great *Aduersitie;* though this latter hath beene lesse obserued. Both which times kindle *Loue*, and make it more feruent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Loue*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And seuer it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke

once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are giuen to *Loue:* I thinke it is, but as they are giuen to *Wine;* For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *loue* of others; which, if it be not spent, vpon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane, and Charitable; As it is seene sometime in Friars. Nuptiall *loue* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *loue* perfecteth it; but Wanton *loue* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.

Of Great Place

XI.

MEn in *Great Place*, are thrice *Seruants:* Seruants of the Soueraigne or State; Seruants of Fame; and Seruants of Businesse. So as they haue no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power ouer others, and to loose Power ouer a Mans Selfe. The Rising vnto *Place* is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base; And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cùm non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis viuere.* Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselues happy; For if they iudge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary

within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Griefs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselues, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they haue no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Illi Mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In *Place*, There is License to doe Good, and Euill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Euill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conuersus Deus, vt aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy *Place*, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that haue carried themselues ill, in the same *Place:* Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to auoid.

Reforme therfore, without Brauerie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and obserue, wherin, and how, they haue degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand what they may expect: But be not too positiue, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserue the Right of thy *Place;* but stirre not questions of Iurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserue likewise, the Rights of Inferiour *Places;* And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and inuite Helps, and Aduices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And do not driue away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie* are chiefly foure: *Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse;* and *Facilitie*. For *Delaies;* Giue easie Accesse; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of necessitie. For *Corruption;* Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Seruants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie vsed doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And auoid not onely the

Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoeuer is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giueth Suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that moue thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Seruant, or a Fauorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close *Corruption*. For *Roughnesse;* It is a needlesse cause of *Discontent: Seueritie* breedeth Feare, but *Roughnesse* breedeth Hate. Euen Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Graue, and not Taunting. As for *Facilitie;* It is worse then Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall neuer be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.* It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man:* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset;* saith *Tacitus* of *Galba:* but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things moue violently to their Place, and calmely in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authoritie setled and calme. All Rising to *Great*

Place, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Vse the Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou haue Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they haue reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conuersation, and priuate Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; *When he sits in Place, he is another Man.*

Of Boldnesse

XII.

IT is a triuiall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise *Mans* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes; What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action;* what next? *Action;* what next again? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Aduantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, aboue those other Noble Parts, of *Inuention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therfore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of *Boldnesse*, in Ciuill Businesse; What first? *Boldnesse;* What Second, and Third? *Boldnesse*. And yet *Boldnesse* is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But neuerthelesse, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in Iudgment; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and preuaileth with wise men, at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States; but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more

euer vpon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after; For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body: so are there *Mountebanques* for the Politique Body: Men that vndertake great Cures; And perhaps haue been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therfore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People beleeue, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer vp his Praiers, for the Obseruers of his Law. The People assembled; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was neuer a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they haue promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they haue the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it ouer, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, *Bold* Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold* Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woodden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold* Men, vpon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale

at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Obseruation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is euer blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconueniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Vse of *Bold* persons is, that they neuer Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and vnder the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

Of Goodnesse
And
Goodnesse of Nature

XIII.

I Take *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia;* And the word *Humanitie* (as it is vsed) is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit, and *Goodnesse of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischieuous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie*, and admits no Excesse, but Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in *Charity*, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse*, is imprinted deepely in the Nature of Man: In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take vnto Other Liuing Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who neuerthelesse, are kinde to Beasts, and giue Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In so much, as *Busbechius* reporteth; A Christian Boy in *Constan-*

tinople, had like to haue been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* haue an vngracious Prouerb; *Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Macciauel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: *That the Christian Faith, had giuen vp Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and uniust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was neuer Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth. Therfore to auoid the Scandall, and the Danger both; it is good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æsops* Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, vpon the Iust, and Vniust;* But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, vpon Men equally. Common Benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the Patterne; The Loue of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and giue it to*

the poore, and follow mee: But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou haue a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodnesse*, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, euen in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Enuy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are euer on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, vpon any Thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*, that make it their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough; And yet haue neuer a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands; but a Continent, that ioynes to them. If he

be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it giues the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted aboue Iniuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But aboue all, if he haue *S^t. Pauls* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Saluation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Diuine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity with *Christ* himselfe.

Of Nobility

XIIII.

WE will speake of *Nobility*, first as a *Portion* of an *Estate;* Then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is euer a pure, and absolute *Tyranny;* As that of the Turkes. For *Nobility* attempers *Soueraignty*, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall*. But for *Democracies*, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subiect to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Mens Eyes are vpon the Businesse, and not vpon the Persons: Or if vpon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their Diuersitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Vtility is their Bond, and not Respects. The vnited Prouinces of the Low Countries, in their Gouernment, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Maiestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for Soueraignty, nor for Iustice; And yet maintained in that heigth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken vpon them, before it come

on too fast vpon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility*, causeth Pouerty, and Inconuenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Persons;* It is a Reuerend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waues and weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of good and euill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselues. *Nobility* of *Birth*, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, enuieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly auoid Motions of Enuy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passiue Enuy, from others towards them; Because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that haue Able men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease in imploying them; And a better Slide into their Businesse: For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command.

Of Seditions
And
Troubles

XV.

SHepheards of People, had need know the *Kalenders of Tempests* in *State;* which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:

——*Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, & operta tumescere Bella.

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running vp and downe, to the disaduantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giuing the Pedegre of *Fame*, saith, *She was sister to the Giants.*

Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (vt perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.—

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditions* past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of

Seditions to come. Howsoeuer, he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to giue greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Enuy great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflata magna Inuidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Seuerity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-liued. Also that kinde of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm execqui;* Disputing, Excusing, Cauilling vpon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as *Macciauel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselues as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is ouerthrowen, by vneuen weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France:* For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants;* and presently after,

the same League was turned vpon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soueraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reuerence of Gouernment is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Gouernment, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, vnder *Primum Mobile;* according to the old Opinion: which is, That Euery of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, moue violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm vt Imperantium meminissent;* It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reuerence is that, wherwith Princes are girt from God; Who threatneth the dissoluing thereof; *Soluam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the foure Pillars of Gouernment, are mainly shaken, or weakned (which are *Religion, Iustice, Counsell,* and *Treasure,*) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let vs passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, neuerthelesse, more light may be taken, from that which followeth;) And let vs speake first of the *Materials* of *Seditions;* Then of the *Motiues* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies.*

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditions.* It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to

preuent *Seditions*, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Pouerty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certaine, so many *Ouerthrowne Estates*, so many Votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome*, before the Ciuill Warre.

Hinc Vsura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis vtile Bellum.

This same *Multis vtile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions*, and *Troubles*. And if this *Pouerty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Iust, or Vniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item*. Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that prouoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let

any Prince, or State, be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they haue been often, or haue been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that euery Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neuerthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow ouer diuers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Prouerb noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motiues* of *Seditions* are; *Innouation* in *Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priuiledges; Generall Oppression; Aduancement of vnworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate;* And whatsoeuer in offending People, ioyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies;* There may be some generall Preseruatiues, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first *Remedy* or preuention, is to remoue by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Pouerty* in the *Estate*. To which purpose, serueth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improuement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen

downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that liue lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an ouer Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewise an ouergrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be vpon the Forrainer, (for whatsoeuer is some where gotten, is some where lost) There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth vnto another; The *Commoditie* as Nature yeeldeth it; The *Manufacture;* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheeles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that *Materiam superabit Opus;* That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the *Low-Countrey-men*, who haue the best Mines, aboue ground, in the World.

Aboue all things, good Policie is to be vsed, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may haue a great Stock, and yet starue. And Money

is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, vpon the Deuouring Trades of *Vsurie*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Remouing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; There is in euery State (as we know) two Portions of *Subiects;* The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to moue of themselues. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselues. The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would haue bound *Iupiter;* which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments* to euaporate, (so it be without too great Insolency or Brauery) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne Vlcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments;* For there is not a better prouision against them. *Epi-*

metheus, when Griefes and Euils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes;* is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Gouernment, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Euill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Outlet of *Hope:* Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselues, or at least to braue that, which they beleeue not.

Also, the Foresight, and Preuention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and vnder whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I vnderstand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, & Reputation; That hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party;* and vpon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted, with some other, of the same Party, that may oppose them, and so diuide the reputation. Generally, the Diuiding and Breaking of all Factions, and Combinations that are aduerse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst them-

selues, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate Case, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it, be entire and vnited.

I haue noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which haue fallen from *Princes*, haue giuen fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nesciuit Literas, non potuit dictare:* For it did, vtterly, cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, giue ouer his Dictatorship. *Galba* vndid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi:* For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donatiue. *Probus* likewise, by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus erit ampliùs Romano Imperio militibus*. A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Euents, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere vnto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there vseth to be more trepidation in Court, vpon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, vt*

pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur. But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the *State;* Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

Of Atheisme

XVI.

I Had rather beleeue all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, then that this vniuersall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God neuer wrought Miracle, to conuince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary Works conuince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to *Atheisme;* But depth in Philosophy, bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion:* For while the Minde of Man, looketh vpon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Prouidence*, and *Deitie*. Nay euen that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion;* That is, the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes vnplaced, should haue produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Diuine Marshall. The Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God:* It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart:* So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue then that he can throughly

beleeue it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a *God*, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no *God*. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this; That *Atheists* will euer be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselues, and would be glad to be strengthned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall haue *Atheists* striue to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall haue of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselues? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enioyed themselues, without hauing respect to the Gouernment of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no *God*. But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Diuine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum*. *Plato* could haue said no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West*, haue Names for their particular *Gods*, though they haue no name for *God:* As if the *Heathens*, should haue had the Names *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus:* which shewes, that euen those Barbarous People, haue the Notion, though they haue not the

Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Sauages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplatiue *Atheist* is rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a receiued *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are by the aduerse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites;* which are euer Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Diuisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine Diuision, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Diuisions introduce *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandall* of *Priests;* When it is come to that, which S. *Bernard* saith; *Non est iam dicere, vt Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, vt Sacerdos*. A third is, Custome of *Profane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters;* which doth, by little and little, deface the Reuerence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Aduersities doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a

God, or *Melior Natura:* which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could neuer attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe, vpon diuine Protection, and Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriueth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, aboue Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Neuer was there such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome:* Of this *State* heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis & Terræ domestico natiuoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc vnâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superauimus.*

Of Superstition

XVII.

IT were better to haue no Opinion of *God* at all; then such an Opinion, as is vnworthy of him: For the one is Vnbeleefe, the other is Contumely: And certainly *Superstition* is the Reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were borne,* as the Poets speake of *Saturne*. And, as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaues a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. Therefore *Atheisme* did neuer perturbe *States;* For it makes Men wary of themselues, as looking no further: And we see the times enclined to *Atheisme* (as the Time of *Augustus Cæsar*) were ciuil Times. But *Superstition*, hath beene the Confusion of many States; And bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that rauisheth all the Spheares of Gouernment. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; And in all

Superstition, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reuersed Order. It was grauely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to saue the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such Things:* And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and *Theorems*, to saue the practise of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Ouer-great Reuerence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Fauouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Nouelties; The taking an Aime at diuine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty Obseruances. There is a *Superstition*, in auoiding *Superstition;* when men thinke to doe best, if they goe

furthest from the *Superstition* formerly receiued: Therefore, Care would be had, that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

Of Trauaile

XVIII.

*T*Rauaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *trauaileth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Trauaile*. That Young Men trauaile vnder some Tutor, or graue Seruant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seene in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Trauaile*, wherin so much is to be obserued, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Obseruation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in vse. The Things to be seene and obserued are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they giue Audience to Ambassadours: The Courts of Iustice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And

so the Hauens & Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Nauies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arsenals: Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Iewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoeuer is memorable in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Seruants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts; Weddings; Funeralls; Capitall Executions; and such Shewes; Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will haue a Young Man, to put his *Trauaile*, into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must haue some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must haue such a Seruant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he trauelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserueth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance.

Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he trauaileth. Let him vpon his Remoues, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he remoueth; that he may vse his Fauour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Trauaile*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Trauaile;* That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadours; For so in *Trauailing* in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels, they are with Care and Discretion to be auoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a *Trauailer* returneth home, let him not leaue the Countries, where he hath *Trauailed*, altogether behinde him; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Trauaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be rather aduised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories:

And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.

Of Empire

XIX.

IT is a miserable State of Minde, to haue few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings;* Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And haue many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings Heart is inscrutable.* For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes*, many times, make themselues Desires, and set their Hearts vpon toyes: Sometimes vpon a Building; Sometimes vpon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes vpon the Aduancing of a Person; Sometimes vpon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As *Nero* for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driuing Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible vnto those, that know not the Principle; *That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings*, that haue

been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must haue some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian;* And in our memory, *Charles* the fift; And others: For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne fauour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire:* It is a Thing rare, & hard to keep: For both Temper & Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*, is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Neroes ouerthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Gouernment, sometimes he vsed to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.* And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the vnequall and vntimely Enterchange of Power *Pressed* too farre, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true; that the wisdome of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliueries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes*

Businesse, are many and great; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings haue to deale with their *Neighbours;* their *Wiues;* their *Children;* their *Prelates* or *Clergie;* their *Nobles;* their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen;* their *Merchants;* their *Commons;* and their *Men of Warre;* And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not vsed.

First for their *Neighbours;* There can no generall Rule be giuen, (The Occasions are so variable,) saue one; which euer holdeth; which is, That *Princes* doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their *Neighbours* doe ouergrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumuirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre: And would not, in any wise, take vp Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of

Italy) made betwene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples; Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludouicus Sforza, Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be receiued; *That a warre cannot iustly be made, but vpon a precedent Iniury, or Prouocation.* For there is no Question, but a iust Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow giuen, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

For their *Wiues;* There are Cruell Examples of them. *Liuia* is infamed for the poysoning of her husband: *Roxolana, Solymans* Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha;* And otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wiues* haue Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children; Or else that they be Aduoutresses.

For their *Children:* The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers from them, haue been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been euer vnfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as the Succession of the *Turks*, from *Solyman*, vntill this day, is suspected to be vntrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father,

was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Iulianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned vpon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were vp, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Baiazet:* And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates;* when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury;* who with their Crosiars, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles;* To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I haue noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seuenth, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility;* Whereupon,

it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, & Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall vnto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles;* There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants;* They are *Vena porta;* And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may haue good Limmes, but will haue empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts vpon them, doe seldome good to the *Kings* Reuenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons;* There is little danger from them, except it be, where they haue Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For their *Men of warre;* It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body, and are vsed to Donatiues; whereof we see Examples in the *Ianizaries*, and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome:* But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in seuerall places,

and vnder seuerall Commanders, and without Donatiues, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heauenly Bodies*, which cause good or euill times; And which haue much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo;* And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei:* The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

Of Counsell

XX.

THe greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of *Giuing Counsell*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely vpon *Counsell*. *God* himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour*. *Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability*. Things will haue their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed vpon the Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be tossed vpon the Waues of *Fortune;* And be full of Inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the Reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill *Counsell;* Vpon which *Counsell*, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for euer, best discerned: That it was *young Counsell*, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Coniunction of *Counsel* with *Kings;* And the wise and Politique vse of *Counsell* by *Kings:* The one, in that they say, *Iupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell:* Whereby they intend, that *Soueraignty* is married to *Counsell:* The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceiued by him, and was with Childe; but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her vp; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was deliuered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire;* How *Kings* are to make vse of their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre matters vnto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselues: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselues) from their *Head*, and *Deuice*.

Let vs now speake of the *Inconueniences* of *Counsell*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconueniences*, that

haue been noted in calling, and vsing Counsell, are three. First, the Reuealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselues. Thirdly, the Danger of being vnfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *counsell*, then of him that is *counselled*. For which *Inconueniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practise of *France*, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counsels;* A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to *Secrecy; Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors;* but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *vnsecreting* of their Affaires, comes not from Themselues. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto; Plenus rimarum sum:* One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons, besides the *King:* Neither are those *Counsels* vnprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill;* And those *Inward Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seuenth of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted

himselfe to none, except it were to *Morton*, and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority;* The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there euer *Prince*, bereaued of his Dependances, by his *Councell;* Except where there hath beene, either an Ouergreatnesse in one *Counsellour*, Or an Ouerstrict Combination in Diuers; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconuenience*, that Men will *Counsell with an Eye to themselues;* Certainly, *Non inueniet Fidem super terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Inuolued: Let *Princes*, aboue all, draw to themselues such Natures. Besides, *Counsellours* are not Commonly so vnited, but that one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinell ouer Another; So that if any do *Counsell* out of Faction, or priuate Ends, it commonly comes to the *Kings* Eare. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellours*, as well as their *Counsellours* know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellours* should not be too Speculatiue, into their Soueraignes Person. The true Composition of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Aduise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular vse to

Princes, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Priuate Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reuerend. In priuate, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in priuate, to preserue Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserue Respect. It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning Persons: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and Character of the *Person* should be; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement is shewne, in the choice of *Indiuiduals*. It was truly said; *Optimi Consiliarij mortui; Books* will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conuersant in them; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselues haue been Actors vpon the Stage.

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; *In Nocte Consilium*. So was it done, in the Commission of *Vnion*, between *England* and *Scotland;* which was a

Graue and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions: For both it giues the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees, for ripening Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing Commissions;* As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Prouinces: For where there be diuers particular *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate, (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions;* Saue that they haue greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees;* And then, as Occasion serues, before the *Counsell*. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the vpper end, in effect, sway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is more vse of the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giuing Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

Of Delayes

XXI.

FOrtune is like the *Market;* Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth vp the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken:* Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be receiued, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers haue deceiued Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare, then to keepe too long a watch, vpon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceiued, with too long Shadowes, (As some haue beene, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by ouer early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripeness, or Vnripenesse, of the Occasion (as we said) must euer be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings

of all great Actions, to *Argos* with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Inuisible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counsell, & *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity;* Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

Of Cunning

XXII.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canuasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand Persons, and another thing to vnderstand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men, and they haue lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis;* doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of *Cunning;* to wait vpon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Iesuites giue it in precept: For there be many Wise Men, that haue Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure

Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe vse.

Another is, that when you haue any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Obiections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that neuer came to *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Mouing things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider aduisedly, of that is moued.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually moue, let him pretend to wish it well, and moue it himselfe, in such sort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe vp, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to giue Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In Things, that are tender and vnpleasing, it is

good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserue the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question vpon the others Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe; It is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; *The World sayes*, Or, *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to haue Speech, he would passe ouer that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselues, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work vpon, will suddenly come vpon them; And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselues they are desirous to vtter.

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would haue another Man learne, and vse, and thereupon take Aduantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselues; And would conferre, one with another, vpon

the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it: The other, straight caught vp those Words, and discoursed with diuers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene;* Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, tooke it so ill, as she would neuer after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan;* which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moued and began.

It is a way, that some men haue, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iustifying themselues, by Negatiues; As to say, *This I doe not:* As *Tigillinus* did towards *Burrhus; Se non diuersas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simplicitèr spectare.*

Some haue in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serueth both to keepe themselues more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would haue, in his owne Words, and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters they will beat ouer, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Vse.

A sudden, bold, and vnexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that hauing changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that *Cunning Men* passe for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it: Like a House, that hath conuenient Staires, and Entries, but neuer a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take aduantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks vpon them;* Then vpon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But *Salomon* saith; *Prudens aduertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus diuertit ad Dolos.*

Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe

XXIII.

AN *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it Selfe; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Louers* of *Themselues*, waste the Publique. Diuide with reason betweene *Selfe-loue*, and *Society:* And be so true to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, *Himselfe*. It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast vpon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that haue Affinity with the *Heauens*, moue vpon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a Soueraigne Prince; Because *Themselues* are not onely *Themselues;* But their Good and Euill, is at the perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Euill in a Seruant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoeuer Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Seruants, as haue not this marke; Except they meane their Seruice should be made but the Accessary.

That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the Seruants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Seruant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Seruants; which set a Bias vpon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Enuies, to the ouerthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Seruants receiue, is after the Modell of their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme *Selfe-Louers;* As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselues:* And for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.

Wisedome for a Mans selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraued Thing. It is the *Wisedome of Rats*, that will be sure to leaue a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisedome of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged & made Roome for him. It is the *Wisedome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would deuoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Riuali*,

are many times vnfortunate. And whereas they haue all their time sacrificed to *Themselues*, they become in the end *themselues* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisedome*, to haue Pinnioned.

Of Innouations

XXIIII.

AS the Births of Liuing Creatures, at first, are ill shapen: So are all *Innouations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed: So the first President (if it be good) is seldome attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands peruerted, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely euery *Medicine* is an *Innouation;* And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Euils: For Time is the greatest *Innouatour:* And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which haue long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselues: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their vtility, yet they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers;* more Admired, and lesse Fauoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moueth so round, that a Froward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innouation:* And they that Reuerence too much

Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innouations*, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed *Innouateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceiued: For otherwise, whatsoeuer is New, is vnlooked for; And euer it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States; Except the Necessity be Vrgent, or the vtility Euident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation, that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Nouelty*, though it be not reiected, yet be held for a Suspect: And, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand vpon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discouer, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.*

Of Dispatch

XXV.

AFfected Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion;* which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Aduancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contriue some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing, to Abbreuiate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at seuerall Sittings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an vnsteady Manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small *dispatch*. The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, haue been noted to be of Small *dispatch;*

Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine; For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Giue good Hearing to those, that giue the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits vpon his Memory, then he could haue been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question:* For it chaseth away many a Friuolous Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wasts of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Brauery. Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, euer requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation to make the vnguent enter.

Aboue all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch;* So as the *Distribution* be not too subtill: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into Businesse; And he that diuideth too much, will neuer come out

of it clearely. To choose Time, is to saue Time; And an Vnseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The *Preparation;* The *Debate*, or *Examination;* And the *Perfection.* Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch:* For though it should be wholly reiected, yet that *Negatiue* is more pregnant of Direction, then an *Indefinite;* As Ashes are more Generatiue then Dust.

Of Seeming wise

XXVI.

IT hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoeuer it be between Nations, Certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse; Hauing a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof;* So certainly, there are in Points of Wisedome, and Sufficiency, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly; *Magno conatu Nugas.* It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Iudgement, to see wha shifts these Formalists haue, and what Prospectiues, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserued, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a darke Light: And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat: And when they know within themselues, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neuerthelesse seeme to others, to know of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselues with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, vp to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory;

And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoeuer is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent, or Curious; And so would haue their Ignorance seeme Iudgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter; Of whom *A. Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negatiue Side; and affect a Credit, to obiect and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to vphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons haue, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise-men* may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then ouer Formall.

Of Frendship

XXVII.

IT had beene hard for him that spake it, to haue put more Truth and vntruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; *Whosoeuer is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Auersation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Sauage Beast; But it is most Vntrue, that it should haue any Character, at all, of the Diuine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Loue and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, or a Higher Conuersation: Such as is found, to haue been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Sicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; and truly and really, in diuers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceiue, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is no *Loue*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Ciuitas, Magna solitudo;* Because in a great Towne, *Friends* are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly; That it

is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Friends;* without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And euen in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoeuer in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is vnfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liuer; *Steele* to open the Spleene; *Flower* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend; To whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoeuer lieth vpon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Ciuill Shrift or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to obserue, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set vpon this *Fruit* of *Friendship*, wherof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects & Seruants, cannot gather this *Fruit;* Except (to make Themselues capable thereof) they raise some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselues, which many times sorteth to Inconuenience. The Moderne Languages giue vnto such Persons, the Name of *Fauorites*, or

Priuadoes; As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conuersation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Vse, and Cause thereof; Naming them *Participes Curarum;* For it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that euer reigned; Who haue oftentimes ioyned to themselues, some of their Seruants; Whom both Themselues have called *Frends;* And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Vsing the Word which is receiued between Priuate Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Heigth, that *Pompey* vaunted Himselfe for *Sylla's* Ouer-match. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Frend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, *Pompey* turned vpon him againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting.* With *Iulius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would haue discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and specially a Dreame of *Calpurnia;* This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismisse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame.

And it seemeth, his fauour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter which is recited *Verbatim*, in one of *Cicero's Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica, Witch;* As if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he consulted with *Mæcenas*, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Iulia*, *Mæcenas* tooke the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Seianus* had ascended to that Height, as they Two were tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitiâ nostrâ non occultaui:* And the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to *Frendship*, as to a *Goddesse*, in respect of the great Dearenesse of *Frendship*, between them Two. The like or more was between *Septimius Seuerus*, and *Plautianus*. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of *Plautianus;* And would often maintaine *Plautianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I loue the Man so well, as I wish he may ouer-liue me.* Now if these Princes, had beene as a *Traian*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, A Man might haue thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Seueritie of minde, and so Extreme Louers of Themselues, as all these were; It proueth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as euer happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece,

except they mought haue a *Frend* to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wiues, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Frendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* obserueth of his first Master *Duke Charles* the *Hardy;* Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his vnderstanding.* Surely *Commineus* mought haue made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis* the Eleuenth, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart.* Certainly, if a Man would giue it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Frends* to open themselues vnto, are Canniballs of their owne *Hearts*. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *frendship*) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his *Frend*, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Ioyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Ioyes* to his *Frend*, but he *ioyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Frend*, but hee *grieueth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation vpon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* vse to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But

yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Vnion* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.

The second *Fruit of Frendship*, is Healthfull and Soueraigne for the *Vnderstanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Frendship* maketh indeed a *faire Day* in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Day-light* in the *Vnderstanding*, out of Darknesse & Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be vnderstood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiueth from his *Frend;* But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoeuer hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Vnderstanding doe clarifie and breake vp, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs.* Neither is this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship*, in opening the *Vnderstanding*, restrained onely to such *Frends*, as are able to giue a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But euen, without that, a Man

learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Obseruation; which is *Faithfull Counsell* from a *Frend*. *Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his Ænigmaes; *Dry Light is euer the best*. And certaine it is, that the Light, that a man receiueth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Vnderstanding, and Iudgement; which is euer infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes. So as, there is as much difference, betweene the *Counsell*, that a *Frend* giueth, and that a Man giueth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Frend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans Selfe; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Frend*. *Counsell* is of two Sorts; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*. For the First; The best Preseruatiue to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a *Frend*. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosiue. Reading good Bookes of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead. Obseruing our Faults in Others, is sometimes vnproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the

Admonition of a *Frend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Frend*, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, & Fortune. For, as *S. Iames* saith, they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, & Fauour*. As for *Businesse*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said ouer the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell vpon the Arme, as vpon a Rest; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good *Counsell*, is that, which setteth *Businesse* straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take *Counsell*, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking *Counsell* in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Frend*, to haue Counsell giuen, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giueth it. The other, that he shall haue Counsell giuen, hurtfull, and vnsafe, (though with good Meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Euen as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complaine of,

but is vnacquainted with your body; And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but ouerthroweth your Health in some other kinde; And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Frend*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dasheth vpon other Inconuenience. And therefore, rest not vpon *Scattered Counsels;* They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble *Fruits of Frendship;* (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Iudgement*,) followeth the last *Fruit;* which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels; I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*, in all *Actions*, and *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold vse of *Frendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Frend is another Himselfe:* For that a *Frend* is farre more then *Himselfe*. Men haue their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things, which they principally take to Heart; The bestowing of a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man haue a true *Frend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Liues in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Frendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Frend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot,

with any Face or Comeliness, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modesty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but vpon Termes: whereas a *Frend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse: I haue giuen the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he haue not a *Frend*, he may quit the Stage.

Of Expence

XXVIII.

Riches are for Spending; And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limitted by the Worth of the Occasion: For *Voluntary Vndoing*, may be aswell for a Mans *Country*, as for the *Kingdome of Heauen*. But *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limitted by a Mans Estate; And gouerned with such regard, as it be within his Compasse; And not subiect to Deceit and Abuse of Seruants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bils may be lesse, then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Euen hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne *Estate*. Some forbeare it, not vpon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselues into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoueth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of *Expence*, to be as Sauing againe,

in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Sauing in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Sauing in the Stable: And the like. For he that is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly be preserued from Decay. In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as Disaduantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will reuert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well vpon his Minde, as vpon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not, he may be more Magnificent.

Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and *Estates*

XXIX.

THe Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Graue and Wise Obseruation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great Citty.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate. For if a true Suruey be taken, of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle:* As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make *a Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Gouernours, gaine both *Fauour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserue no better Name then *Fidling;* Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull

to themselues onely, then tending to the Weale and Aduancement of the State, which they serue. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Gouernours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotijs pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconueniences; which neuerthelesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let vs speake of the Worke; That is; The true *Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates;* and the *Meanes* thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to haue in their hand; To the end, that neither by Ouer-measuring their Forces, they leese themselues in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by vnderualuing them, they descend to Feare-full and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall vnder Measure; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances and Reuenew doth fall vnder Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Ciuill Affaires, more subiect to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Iudgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdome* of *Heauen* is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine* of *Mustard-seed;* which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get vp and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie,

and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that haue but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as *Virgil* saith) *It neuer troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set vpon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped vpon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discouered the Armie of the *Romans*, being not aboue 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to giue him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Iudgement; That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse* in any *State*, is to haue a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is triuially said) where the Sinewes of Mens

Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Crœsus* (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natiues, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that haue Subiects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength; vnlesse they be otherwise wanting vnto Themselues. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Helpe in this Case) all Examples shew; That, whatsoeuer Estate or Prince doth rest vpon them; *Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after.*

The *Blessing* of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will neuer meet; *That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse betweene Burthens:* Neither will it be, that a People ouer-laid with *Taxes*, should euer become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that *Taxes* leuied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries;* And in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England.* For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it workes diuersly vpon the Courage. So that you may conclude; *That no People, ouer-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aime at *Greatnesse*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen*, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subiect, grow to be a Peasant, and Base Swaine, driuen out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer. Euen as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leaue your staddles too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane Vnderwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantery*, which is the Nerue of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France;* whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neuerthelesse) an Ouermatch; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* doe not. And herein, the deuice of King *Henry* the Seuenth, (whereof I haue spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land vnto them, as may breed a Subiect, to liue in Conuenient Plenty, and no Seruile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he giues to Ancient *Italy*.

— *Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed ouer; I meane the State of *Free Seruants* and *Attendants* vpon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen;* which are no waies inferiour, vnto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, receiued into Custome, doth much conduce, vnto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserued liuing, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subiects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Proportion, to the *Stranger Subiects*, that they gouerne. Therfore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall vpon the suddaine. Neuer any State was, in this Point, so open to receiue *Strangers*, into their Body, as were

the *Romans*. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Ciuitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij*, *Ius Connubij*, *Ius Hæreditatis;* But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of *Colonies;* whereby the Roman Plant, was remoued into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spred vpon the *World;* But it was the *World*, that spred vpon the *Romans:* And that was the sure Way of *Greatnesse*. I have marueiled sometimes at *Spaine*, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few Naturall *Spaniards:* But sure, the whole Compasse of *Spaine*, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre aboue *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they haue not had that vsage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they haue that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers:* yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natiues; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) haue, in their Nature,

a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And loue Danger better then Trauaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserued in vigour. Therefore, it was great Aduantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the vse of *Slaues*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leaue those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be receiued) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natiues, within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground; *Free Seruants; & Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, & Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But aboue all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly haue spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes: And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act? Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the *Romans;* That, aboue all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should proue the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and

others, had it for a Time. The *Turks* haue it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that haue it, are, in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine, *That euery Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood vpon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to haue *Greatnesse* fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally haue done) do wonders. And those, that haue professed Armes but for an Age, haue notwithstanding, commonly, attained that *Greatnesse* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to haue those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth vnto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Iustice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not vpon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but vpon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The *Turke*, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they neuer rested vpon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend

to *Greatnesse*, haue this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either vpon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit not too long vpon a Prouocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to giue Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it euer was with the *Romans:* In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defensiue with diuers other States, and vpon Inuasion offered, did implore their Aides seuerally, yet the *Romans* would euer bee the formost, and leaue it to none Other to haue the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well iustified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia:* Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set vp or pull downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies:* Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, vnder the pretence of Iustice, or Protection, to deliuer the Subiects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, vpon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Ciuill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feauer; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serueth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners

Corrupt. But howsoeuer it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for *Greatnesse*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giueth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spaine;* which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if vpon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battailes by *Sea*. The Battaile of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatnesse of the *Turke*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* haue beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, have set vp their Rest, vpon the Battailes. But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neuerthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with vs of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea* (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of *Great Brittaine*) is Great: Both because,

Most of the Kingdomes of *Europe*, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compasse; And because, the Wealth of both *Indies*, seemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected vpon Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chiualry; which neuerthelesse, are conferred promiscuously, vpon Soldiers, & no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps vpon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The *Trophies* erected vpon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatiues and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls vpon their Returne; The great Donatiues and Largesses vpon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But aboue all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that euer was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatiues to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies;* Except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes;

As it came to passe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs to Themselues, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieue in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieued by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature;* in this little Modell of a *Mans Body:* But in the Great Frame of *Kingdomes*, & *Common Wealths*, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we haue now touched, they may sow *Greatnesse*, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Obserued, but left to take their Chance.

Of Regiment of Health

XXX.

THere is a wisdome in this, beyond the Rules of *Physicke:* A Mans owne Obseruation, what he findes Good of, and what he findes Hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserue Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* Then this; *I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it.* For Strength of Nature in youth, passeth ouer many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconuenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for

the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Auoid Enuie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Nouelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Obiects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect, when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Vse of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health*, *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could neuer have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giueth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Vse Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall

Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humor of the Patient, as they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

Of Suspicion

XXXI.

Suspicions amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they euer fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Frends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seuenth of *England:* There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspicions* in Smother. What would Men haue? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will haue their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselues, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspicions*, then to account vpon such *Suspicions* as

true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a Man ought to make vse of *Suspicions*, as to prouide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him no Hurt. *Suspicions*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But *Suspicions*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of others, haue Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood of *Suspicions*, is franckly to communicate them, with the Partie, that he *Suspects:* For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to giue further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they finde themselues once suspected, will neuer be true. The *Italian* saies: *Sospetto licentia fede:* As if *Suspicion* did giue a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.

Of Discourse

XXXII.

SOme in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Iudgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some haue certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Pouerty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceiued Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to giue the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conuersation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Iest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Iade, any Thing too farre. As for Iest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priuiledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Mans present Business of Importance, And any Case that deserueth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits haue been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, & fortiùs vtere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall giue them occasion, to please themselues in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leaue other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take vp all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians vse to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe:* And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with good Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be sparingly vsed: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noble-men*, of the West Part of *England;* Whereof the one was giuen to Scoffe, but kept euer

Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truely, was there neuer a Flout or drie Blow giuen;* To which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed:* The Lord would say; *I thought he would marre a good Dinner. Discretion* of *Speech*, is more then *Eloquence;* And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, & the Hare. To vse too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To vse none at all, is Blunt.

Of Plantations

XXXIII.

PLantations are amongst Ancient, Primitiue, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may iustly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries, is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Vnblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant:* And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*: For they will euer liue like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and Certifie ouer to their Country, to the Disc t of the *Plantation*. The Peop herewith yc *nt*, ought to be Gardners,

Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chest-nuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Oliues, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make vse of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serue for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Aboue all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subiect to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doues, and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and Stored vp, and then Deliuered out in Proportion. Besides some Spots of Ground, that any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Priuate. Consider likewise what

Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation:* So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Preiudice, of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Vre, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a braue Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making a Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile not too much vnder Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very Vncertaine, and vseth to make the *Planters* Lazie, in other Things. For Gouernment, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them haue Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And aboue all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they haue God alwaies, and his Seruice before their Eyes. Let not the Gouernment of the *Plantation*, depend vpon too many Counsellours, and Vndertakers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but vpon a temperate Number; And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke euer to the present Gaine.

Let there be Freedomes from Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may liue well, in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they haue built along the Sea, and Riuers, in Marish and vnwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to auoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather vpwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they haue good Store of Salt with them, that they may vse it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where Sauages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But vse them iustly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neuerthelesse: And doe not winne their fauour, by helping them to inuade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse: And send oft of them, ouer to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it when they returne. When the *Plantation* grows to Strength, then it is time, to *Plant* with Women, as well as with Men; That the *Plantation* may spread

into Generations, and not be euer peeced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

Of Riches

XXXIIII.

I Cannot call *Riches* better, then the Baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory: Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Vse, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon; Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches:* There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donatiue of them; Or a Fame of them; But no Solid Vse to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set vpon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation, are vndertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Vse of great *Riches?* But then you will say, they may be of vse, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man*. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact*. For certainly Great *Riches*, haue sold more Men, then they haue bought out. Seeke not Proud *Riches*, but such as thou maist get iustly, Vse soberly, Distribute

cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Auaritiæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri.* Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware of Hasty Gathering of *Riches: Qui festinat ad Diuitias, non erit insons.* The Poets faigne that when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Iupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling vpon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Deuill. For when *Riches* come from the Deuill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and vniust Meanes,) they come vpon Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improuement of the Ground*, is the most Naturall Obtaining of *Riches;* For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a

Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly obserued by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easily to Great *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and ouercome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The *Gaines* of *Ordinary Trades* and *Vocations*, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the *Gaines* of *Bargaines*, are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite vpon Others Necessity, broake by Seruants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell ouer againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both vpon the Seller, and vpon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Vsury* is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; *In sudore vultûs alieni:* And besides, doth Plough vpon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriueners and Broakers, doe valew vnsound Men, to serue their owne Turne. The *Fortune*, in being the First in an *Inuention*, or in a *Priuiledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull

Ouergrowth in *Riches;* As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries:* Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to haue as well Iudgement, as Inuention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth vpon *Gaines Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches:* And he that puts all vpon *Aduentures*, doth often times breake, and come to Pouerty: It is good therefore, to guard *Aduentures* with *Certainties*, that may vphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie haue intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Seruice*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Seruile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca; Testamenta et Orbos, tanquàm Indagine capi;*) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselues, to Meaner Persons, then in *Seruice*. Beleeue not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches:* For they despise them, that despaire of them; And none Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* haue Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselues, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leaue their *Riches*, either to their Kindred; Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize

on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and Iudgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt;* And but the *Painted Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Aduancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; and Deferre not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.

Of Prophecies

XXXV.

I Meane not to speake of *Diuine Prophecies;* Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of *Prophecies*, that haue beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul; To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me. Homer* hath these Verses.

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis:

A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the *Roman Empire*. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses.

——— *Venient Annis*
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque nouos
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
Vltima Thule:

A *Prophecie* of the Discouery of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Iupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, He sealed vp his Wiues Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren:

But *Aristander* the Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not vse to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme, that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterùm me videbis. Tiberius* said to *Galba. Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium.* In *Vespasians* Time, there went a *Prophecie* in the East; That those that should come forth of *Iudea*, should reigne ouer the World: which though it may be was meant of our *Sauiour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian. Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seuenth, when he was a Lad, and gaue him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enioy the Crowne, for which we striue.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one D^r^. *Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was giuen to Curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Natiuitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gaue a Iudgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be aboue Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, vpon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Beuer. The triuiall *Prophecie*, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

When Hempe is sponne;
England's done.

Whereby, it was generally conceiued, that after the *Princes* had Reigned, which had the Principiall *Letters*, of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*) *England* should come to vtter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of *England*, but of *Britaine*. There was also another *Prophecie*, before the year of 88. which I doe not well vnderstand.

There shall be seene vpon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you haue None.

It was generally conceiued, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the *King* of *Spaines* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus;*

Octogessimus octauus mirabilis Annus;

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that euer swamme vpon the Sea. As for *Cleons* Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was deuoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions* of *Astrologie*. But I haue

set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised;* And ought to serue, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleefe: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be *Despised*. For they haue done much Mischiefe: And I see many seuere Lawes made to suppresse them. That, that hath giuen them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and neuer marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Coniectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselues into *Prophecies:* While the Nature of Man, which coueteth *Diuination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subiect to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceiued, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, haue beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contriued and faigned, after the Euent Past.

Of Ambition

XXXVI.

Ambition is like *Choler;* Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Actiue, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon Men and matters, with an Euill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie, in a Seruant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they vse *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressiue, and not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconuenience, it is good not to vse such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Seruice, they will take Order to make their Seruice fall with them. But since we haue said, it were good not to vse Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be vpon necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they neuer so *Ambitious:* For the Vse of their Seruice dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great vse of *Am-*

bitious Men, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Enuie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Doue, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Vse also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subiect that ouer-tops: As *Tiberius* vsed *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Seianus*. Since therefore they must be vsed, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled, that they may be lesse *dangerous*. There is lesse *danger* of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to haue *Fauorites:* But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Fauourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other should be *Ouer-great*. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and proue dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require

it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Fauours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect; And be, as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse harmefull, the *Ambition* to preuaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in euery thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to haue an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath a great Taske; but that is euer good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising; And such as loue Businesse rather vpon Conscience, then vpon Brauery: And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde.

Of Masques and Triumphs

XXXVII.

THese Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Obseruations. But yet, since Princes will haue such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I vnderstand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Deuice. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) and the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. *Seuerall Quires*, placed one ouer against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wise, giue great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieue the Eye, before it be full of the same Obiect.

Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied:* And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, haue some Motions, vpon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerefull*, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placed*. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candle-light, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Antimasques* not be long; They haue been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's Mouing, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques;* And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other side as vnfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreatiue, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure; & Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies,

addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Iusts*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers;* The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Deuices of their Entrance; Or in the Brauery of their Liueries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes.

Of Nature in Men

XXXVIII.

NAture is Often Hidden; Sometimes Ouercome; Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* lesse Importune: But Custome onely doth alter and subdue *Nature*. Hee that seeketh Victory ouer his *Nature*, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him deiected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Preuailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disaduantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the vse. Where *Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest *Nature* in Time; Like to Him, that would say ouer the Foure and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry: Then to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man haue the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Vnderstanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit vpon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be euer in Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie ouer his *Nature* too farre; For *Nature* will lay buried a great Time, and yet reuiue, vpon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsopes Damosell*, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either auoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moued with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceiued in Priuatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaueth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* sort with their Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea:* when they conuerse in those Things, they doe not Affect. In Studies, whatsoeuer a Man commandeth vpon himselfe, let him set Houres for it: But whatsoeuer is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselues; So as the Spaces of

other Businesse, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

Of Custome and Education

XXXIX.

MEns Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they haue beene *Accustomed*. And therefore, as *Macciauel* well noteth (though in an euill fauoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Brauery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by *Custome*. His Instance is, that for the Atchieuing of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest vpon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Vndertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But *Macciauel* knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Rauillac*, nor a *Iaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard:* yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as *Custome*. Onely Superstition is now so well aduanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, euen in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is euery where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Giue Great Words, and then Doe

iust as they haue Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moued onely by the wheeles of *Custome*. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselues quietly vpon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselues by Fire. Nay the Wiues striue to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged vpon the Altar of *Diana*, without so much as Quecching. I remember in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebell* Condemned, put vp a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene so vsed, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custome*, both vpon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endeuour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education;* which is, in effect, but an *Early Custome*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Ioints are more Supple to all Feats of Actiuitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that haue not suffered themselues to fixe, but haue kept themselues open and prepared, to receiue con-

tinuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Custome* Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Custome* Copulate, and Conioyned, & Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues vpon Humane Nature, resteth vpon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Gouernments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.

Of Fortune

XL.

IT cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune*, Fauour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ;* saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune* of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Ouert, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune.* Certaine Deliueries of a Mans Selfe, which haue no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restiuenesse in a Mans Nature; But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his *Fortune.* For so *Liuie* (after he had described *Cato Maior*, in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur;*) falleth vpon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenium.* Therfore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentiuely, he shall see *Fortune:* For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Inuisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the *Milken Way* in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars;

Not Seene asunder, but Giuing Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties; Then to haue a *Little* of the *Foole;* And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme Louers of their Countrey, or Masters, were neuer *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remouer, (The *French* hath it better; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Enuy of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to Prouidence and *Fortune;* For so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam eius*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end *Infortunate*. It is written, that *Timotheus* the

Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gaue to the State, of his Gouernment, often interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part;* neuer prospered in any Thing he vndertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that haue a Slide, and Easinesse, more then the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

Of Vsurie

XLI.

MAny haue made Wittie Inuectives against *Vsurie*. They say, that it is Pitie, the Deuill should haue Gods part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Vsurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth euery Sunday. That the *Vsurer* is the *Droane*, that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignauum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Vsurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum;* Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni.* That *Vsurers* should haue Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Iudaize.* That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money;* And the like. I say this onely, that *Vsury* is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis:* For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Vsury* must be permitted. Some Others haue made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discouery of Mens Estates, and other Inuentions. But few haue spoken of *Vsury* vsefully. It is good to set before vs the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Vsury;* That the Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to prouide, that while we make

forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Vsury* are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Vsury*, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Imployed vpon Merchandizing; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot driue his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Vsury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the *Vsurer* being at Certainties, and others at Vncertainties, at the end of the Game; Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And euer a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And *Vsury* Waylayes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improuements, and new Inuentions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Pouertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Vsury* are. First, that howsoeuer *Vsury* in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it aduanceth it:

For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driuen by Young Merchants, vpon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Vsurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing vpon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw vpon them, a most sudden vndoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre vnder Foot; and so, whereas *Vsury* doth but Gnaw vpon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite vp. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Vse;* Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say; The Deuill take this *Vsury*, it keepes vs from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceiue, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceiue, the Number of Inconueniencies, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Vsury* is Idle. All States haue euer had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Vtopia*.

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Vsury;* How the *Discommodities* of it may be best auoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities* of *Vsury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Vsurie* be grinded,

that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to inuite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two seuerall *Sorts* of *Vsury;* A *Lesse*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Vsury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to seeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucratiue, may beare *Vsury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serue both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates* of *Vsury*, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other vnder *Licence* only, to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places* of *Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Vsury, in generall, be reduced to Fiue in the Hundred;* And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserue Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Fiue. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improuements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Fiue in the Hundred, especially hauing beene vsed to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne*

Merchants, vpon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate;* and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, euen with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then that he vsed formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall haue some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoeuer. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but euery Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then giue ouer his Trade of *Vsury;* And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes, in the Country: So as the *Licence of Nine*, will not sucke away the current *Rate of Fiue:* For no man will send his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Vnknown Hands.

If it be' Obiected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize *Vsury*, which before was, in some places, but Permissiue: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate *Vsury* by *Declaration*, then to suffer it to Rage by *Conniuence.*

Of Youth and Age

XLII.

A Man that is *Young in yeares*, may be Old in Houres, if he haue lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, *youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a *youth* in thoughts as wel as in Ages. And yet the Inuention of *Young Men*, is more liuely, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Diuinely. Natures that haue much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they haue passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with *Iulius Cæsar*, & *Septimius Seuerus*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Iuuentutem egit, Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenam*. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in *Youth*. As it is seene, in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, *Gaston de Fois*, and others. On the other side, Heate and Viuacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for Businesse. *Young Men*, are Fitter to Inuent, then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Proiects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abuseth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of *Aged*

Men amount but to this; That more might haue beene done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly; Care not to Innouate, which draws vnknowne Inconueniences; Vse extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them; Like an vnready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. *Men* of *Age*, Obiect too much, Consult too long, Aduenture too little, Repent too soone, and seldome driue Businesse home to the full Period; But content themselues with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the *Present*, because the Vertues of either *Age*, may correct the defects of both: And good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actours: And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Fauour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will haue the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine *Rabbine*, vpon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames;* Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God then *Old;* Because *Vision* is a clearer Reuelation, then a *Dreame*. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And *Age* doth profit rather in the

Powers of Vnderstanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some haue an Ouer-early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fadeth betimes: These are first, Such as haue Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that haue some naturall dispositions, which haue better Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age:* Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age:* So *Tully* saith of *Hortentius; Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares can vphold. As was *Scipio Affricanus*, of whom *Liuy* saith in effect; *Vltima primis cedebant.*

Of Beauty

XLIII.

VErtue is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features: And that hath rather dignity of Presence, then *Beauty* of Aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that very *Beautifull Persons*, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they proue Accomplished, but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behauiour, then Vertue; But this holds not alwaies; For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the *Fourth* of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Ismael* the *Sophy* of *Persia*, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most *Beautifull Men* of their Times. In *Beauty*, that of Fauour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion, more then that of Fauour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of diuers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such

Personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then euer was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde neuer a good; And yet all together doe well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no maruaile, though *Persons in Yeares*, seeme many times more Amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher:* For no *Youth* can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make vp the comelinesse. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

Of Deformity

XLIIII.

Deformed Persons are commonly euen with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection;* And so they haue their Reuenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde: And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Signe, which is more Deceiuable; But as a Cause, which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliuer himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn; But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and obserue the Weaknesse of Others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Iealousie towards them, as

Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As neuer beleeuing, they should be in possibility of aduancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, vpon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an Aduantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in *Eunuchs;* Because they, that are Enuious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather been as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Maruelled, if sometimes they proue Excellent Persons; As was *Agesilaus*, *Zanger* the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsope*, *Gasca* President of *Peru;* And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

Of Building

XLV.

Houses are built to Liue in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Vse bee preferred before Vniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leaue the Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for Beautie only, to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets:* Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, vpon an *ill Seat*, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Vnwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is vnequall; As you shall see many Fine *Seats*, set vpon a knap of Ground, Enuironed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall haue, and that suddenly, as great Diuersitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in seuerall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of seuerall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Leuell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having the Commoditie of Navigable Riuers, or the discommoditie of their

Ouerflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Prouisions, and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Liuing laid together, and where he is scanted: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: And if he have seuerall Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what hee wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus* answered; *Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that euer change their Aboad towards the Winter?*

To passe from the *Seat*, to the *House* it selfe; We will doe as *Cicero* doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes *De Oratore*, and a Booke he entitles *Orator:* Wherof the Former deliuers the Precepts of the *Art;* And the Latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore describe a *Princely Pallace*, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in *Europe*, such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*, and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot haue a Perfect *Pallace*, except you haue two seuerall Sides; A Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester;* And a Side; for the *Houshold:* The One for

Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I vnderstand both these Sides, to be not onely Returnes, but Parts of the *Front;* And to be vniforme without, though seuerally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middest of the *Front;* That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would haue on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *Goodly Roome*, aboue Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And vnder it, a Roome, for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houshold* Side, I wish it diuided at the first, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bignesse: And those not to goe all the length, but to haue, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire. And vnder these Roomes, A Faire and Large *Cellar*, suncke vnder Ground: And likewise, some *Priuie Kitchins*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would haue it two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a peece, aboue the two Wings; And a Goodly *Leads* vpon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee diuided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the vpper Roomes, let them bee vpon a Faire open *Newell*, and finely raild in, with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a Brasse Colour: And a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Seruants. For otherwise, you shall haue the Seruants Dinner, after your owne:

For the Steame of it will come vp as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I vnderstand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into *Turrets*, on the Outside, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselues. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the Height of the *Front;* But rather Proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be paued, for that striketh vp a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The *Row* of *Returne*, on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately Galleries;* In which *Galleries*, Let there be three, or fiue, fine *Cupola's*, in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windowes* of seuerall workes. On the Houshold Side, *Chambers* of *Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bed-chambers;* And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, that you may haue Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may haue Roomes, both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme for Winter. You shall haue sometimes Faire *Houses*, so full of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed*

Windowes, I hold them of good Vse; (In Cities indeed, *Vpright* doe better, in respect of the Vniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be enuironed, with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, vpon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *Vnder Story*, towards the *Garden*, Let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or Place of Shade, or Estiuation. And onely haue opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden;* And be Leuell upon the Floare, no whit sunke vnder Ground, to auoid all Dampishnesse. And let there be a *Fountaine*, or some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court;* And to be Paued as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for *Priuie Lodgings*, on both Sides; And the End, for *Priuie Galleries*. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them, be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, ioyning to it. This vpon the Second Story. Vpon the *Ground Story*, a Faire *Gallery*, *Open*, vpon *Pillars:* And vpon the *Third Story* likewise, an *Open Gallery* vpon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the

further Side, by way of Returne, Let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, Daintily Paued, Richly Hanged, Glased with *Crystalline Glasse*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon. In the *Vpper Gallery* too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some *Fountaines* Running, in diuers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Auoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the *Pallace:* Saue that, you must haue, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. *A Greene Court Plain*, with a Wall about it: *A Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, vpon the Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at Distance, with some *Low Galleries*, to passe from them, to the *Pallace* it Selfe.

Of Gardens

XLVI.

GOD *Almightie* first Planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasure. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which *Buildings* and *Pallaces* are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall euer see, that when Ages grow to Ciuility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner then to *Garden Finely:* As if *Gardening* were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in the Yeare: In which, seuerally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For *December*, and *Ianuary*, and the Latter Part of *Nouember*, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lauander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved; and Sweet Marioram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of *Ianuary*, and *Februarie*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamaïris; Frettellaria. For *March*, There Come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the

Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip, Flower-De-lices, & Lillies of [all] Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*, and *Iune*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lauender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Lilium Conuallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In *Iuly*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In *August*, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes; Berberies; Filberds; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *Nouember*, come Seruices; Medlars; Bullises; Roses Cut or Remoued to come late; Hollyokes; and such like. These Particulars are for

the *Climate* of *London;* But my meaning is Perceiued, that you may haue *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*, that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask & Red, are fast Flowers of their Smels; So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram. That, which aboue all Others, yeelds the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Aire*, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaues dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which growes vpon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set vnder a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks, [and Gilly-Flowers,] specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime Tree. Then the Honny-Suckles, so they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume*

the Aire most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being *Troden vpon* and *Crushed*, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to haue the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of those, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we haue done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, vnder *Thirty Acres of Ground;* And to be diuided into three Parts: A *Greene* in the Entrance; A *Heath* or *Desart* in the Going forth; And the [*Maine*] *Garden* in the middest; Besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be assigned to the *Greene;* Six to the *Heath;* Foure and Foure to either side; And Twelue to the *Maine Garden*. The Greene hath two pleasures, The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne; The other, because it will giue you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front vpon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden*. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade, in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Couert Alley*, vpon Carpenters Worke, about Twelue Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Diuers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie vnder the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many

times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be vpon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Ouer the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of some Foure Foot High, framed also vpon Carpenters Worke: And vpon the *Vpper Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receiue a *Cage* of *Birds:* And ouer euery *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*, with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt, for the *Sunne*, to Play vpon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be, raised vpon a *Bancke*, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I vnderstand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole breadth of the Ground, but to leaue, on either Side, Ground enough, for diuersity of *Side Alleys:* Vnto which, the Two *Couert Alleys* of the Greene, may deliuer you. But there must be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure:* Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Prospect vpon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene;* Nor at the *Further End*, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, vpon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leaue it to Variety of Deuice; Aduising nevertheless, that whatsoeuer forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images Cut out*

in *Iuniper*, or other *Garden stuffe:* They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like Welts, with some Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire Columnes* upon Frames of Carpenters Worke. I would also, haue the *Alleys*, Spacious and Faire. You may haue *Closer Alleys* vpon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Maine Garden*. I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three Ascents, and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would haue to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, or Imbosments; And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banquetting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*.

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* vnwholesome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinckleth* or *Spouteth Water;* The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in vse, doe well: But the maine Matter is so to Conuey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Ceste ne; That the Water be neuer by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossinesse* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed euery day by the Hand. Also some *Steps* vp to it, and some *Fine Pauement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountaine*, which we may call a *Bathing*

Poole, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selues: As, that the Bottome be finely Paued, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point, is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountaine;* which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole* and Deliuered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away vnder Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Deuices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in seuerall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*. *Trees* I would haue none in it; But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that giues a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some

with Couslips; Some with Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Conuallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt vpon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses; Iuniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Priuate, to giue a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Closer Alleys*, must bee euer finely Grauelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well vpon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obserued, that the *Borders*, wherin you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceiue the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would haue a *Mount* of some Pretty Height, leauing the Wall of the Enclosure, Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees;* And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leaue the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would haue you rest, vpon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-cast Dayes.

For *Auiaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be *Turffed*, and have *Liuing Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may haue more Scope, and Naturall Neastling, and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Auiary*. So I haue made a Platforme of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I haue spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most Part, taking Aduice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost, set their Things together; And sometimes adde *Statua's*, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a *Garden*.

Of Negociating

XLVII.

IT is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serue, for a Mans Iustification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where a Mans Eye, vpon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may giue him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will reserue to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*, it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe; Then those, that are Cunning to Contriue out of other Mens Businesse, somewhat to grace themselues; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. Vse also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherin they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Obseruation, Froward and Absurd Men

for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Vse also such, as haue beene Luckie, and Preuailed before in Things wherein you haue Emploied them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will striue to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to fall vpon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some Short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deale* with another vpon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise, is to *Discouer*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discouer* themselues, in Trust; In Passion; At vnawares; And of Necessitie, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would *Worke* any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disaduantages, and so Awe him; or those that haue Interest in him, and so Gouerne him. In *Dealing* with Cunning Persons, we must euer Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all *Negociations* of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

Of Followers and Frends

XLVIII.

COstly *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not vpon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselues, but vpon Discontentment Conceiued against some Other: Whereupon Commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious *Followers*, who make themselues as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconuenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Enuie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Fauour; For they are Officious, And Commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* by certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of

Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath euer beene a Thing Ciuill, and well taken euen in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to aduance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Oddes in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Actiue Men are of more vse, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Gouernment, it is Good to vse Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Fauour, to vse Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Fauour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One Cannot hold out that Proportion. To be gouerned (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and giues a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediately, will talke more boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Aduice of some few Frends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more*

then Gamesters; And the Vale best discouereth the Hill. There is Little Frendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

Of Sutours

XLIX.

MAny ill Matters and Proiects are vndertaken; And Priuate *Sutes* do Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are vndertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Sutes*, which neuer meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Vse, in the meane time, of the *Sutours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Sutes*, onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise haue apt Pretext; without Care what become of the *Sute*, when that Turne is serued: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some vndertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Aduerse Partie, or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in euery *Sute:* Either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controuersie; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Sute* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather vse his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the lesse Worthy in

Desert, let him doe it without Deprauing or Disabling the Better Deseruer. In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well vnderstand, it is good to referre them, to some Frend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Sutours* are so distasted with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successe barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserued, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Favour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise haue beene had, but by him, Aduantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discouerie. To be Ignorant of the value of a *Sute*, is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours;* But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a

Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither deiected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, vt Æquum feras;* is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Fauour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his *Sute;* For he that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Fauour. Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments, then these Generall Contriuers of *Sutes:* For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

Of Studies

L.

STudies serue for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Vse for Delight, is in Priuatenesse and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned.* To spend too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth; To vse them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study:* And *Studies* themselves, doe giue forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men Contemne *Studies;* simple Men Admire them; And Wise Men Vse them: For they teach not their owne Vse; But that is a Wisdome without them, and aboue them, won by Obseruation. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Beleeue and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some

Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Bookes* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes:* else distilled *Bookes*, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Ready Man; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need haue a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need haue a Present Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need haue much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks* Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall* Graue; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores.* Nay there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit *Studies:* Like as Diseases of the Body, may haue Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks;* For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away neuer so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoole-men;* For they are *Cymini*

sectores. If he be not Apt to beat ouer Matters, and to call vp one Thing, to Proue and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases:* So euery Defect of the Minde, may haue a Speciall Receit.

Of Faction

LI.

MAny haue an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to Gouerne his Estate; Or for a Great Person to gouerne his Proceedings, according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Seuerall *Factions* doe neuertheless agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that haue Strength in themselues, were better to maintaine themselues Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet euen in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giueth best Way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer in Coniunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdiuideth: As the *Faction*, betweene *Lucullus*, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while, against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar:* But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after

brake. The *Faction* or Partie of *Antonius*, and *Octauianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were ouerthrowne, then soone after *Antonius* and *Octauianus* brake and Subdiuided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Priuate *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Factions*, doe many times, when the *Faction* Subdiuideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they proue Ciphars and Casheer'd: For many a Mans Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of vse. It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they haue the First Sure; And now are Readie for a New Purchase. The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters haue stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Euen Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make vse of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they haue often in their Mouth, *Padre commune:* And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side themselues, and make themselues as of a *Faction* or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are euer Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soue-

raigntie, and make the King, *Tanquàm vnus ex nobis:* As was to be seene, in the *League* of *France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Preiudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of *Factions*, vnder Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may haue their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*.

Of Ceremonies and Respects

LII.

HE that is only Reall, had need haue Exceeding great Parts of Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Prouerbe is true, *That light Gaines make heauy Purses;* For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Vse, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festiuals. Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene *Isabella* said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*, to haue good *Formes*. To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man obserue them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Vnaffected. Some Mens Behauiour, is like a Verse, wherein euery Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Obseruations? Not to vse *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to vse them

againe; And so diminisheth *Respect* to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling vpon them, & Exalting them aboue the Moone, is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conueying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of Singular vse, if a Man can hit vpon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reuerence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giueth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it vpon Regard And not vpon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient otherwise, their Enuiers will be sure to giue them that Attribute, to the Disaduantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too Curious in Obseruing Times and Opportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow*

and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Deuice, but Free for Exercise or Motion.

Of Praise

LIII.

Praise is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie, which giueth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People vnderstand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense, or Perceiuing at all. But Shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer, that beareth vp Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will haue certaine Common Attributes, which may serue euery Man; If hee be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein

the Flatterer will vphold him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherin a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defectiue, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ.* Some *Praises* come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Ciuilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere;* When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some Men are *Praised* Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Enuie and Iealousie towards them; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium;* In so much as it was a Prouerb, amongst the *Grecians;* that, *He that was praised to his Hurt, should haue a Push rise vpon his Nose:* As we say; *That a Blister will rise vpon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye.* Certainly Moderate *Praise,* vsed with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. *Salomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curse.* Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Enuie and Scorne. To *Praise* a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to *Praise* a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The *Cardinals* of *Rome,* which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men have a Phrase of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Ciuill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature, & other Emploiments,

Sbirrerie; which is, *Vnder-Sheriffries;* As if they were but matters for Vnder-Sheriffes and Catch-poles; Though many times, those *Vndersherifferies* doe more good, then their High Speculations. *St. Paul,* when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; *I speake like a Foole;* But speaking of his Calling, he saith; *Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.*

Of Vaine-Glory

LIIII.

IT was prettily Deuised of *Æsope; The Fly sate vpon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise?* So are there some *Vaine Persons*, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moueth vpon greater Means, if they haue neuer so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious;* For all Brauery stands vpon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the *French* Prouerb; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is Vse of this Qualitie, in Ciuill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Again, as *Titus Liuius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians; There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies;* As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, aboue Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that

Somewhat is produced of *Nothing:* For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Soldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, vpon Charge and Aduenture, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, haue more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen,* were Men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vaine-Glory* helpeth to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And Vertue was neuer so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it receiued his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,* borne her Age so well, if it had not been ioyned, with some *Vanity* in themselues: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-Glory*, I meane not of that Property, that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus; Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator:* For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Naturall Magnanimity, and discretion: And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it selfe well Gouerned, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be

Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily; *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superior, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse.* *Glorious* Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaues of their own Vaunts.

Of Honour and Reputation

LV.

THe Winning of *Honour*, is but the Reuealing of a Mans Vertue and Worth, without Disaduantage. For some in their Actions, doe Wooe and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*. Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be vnder-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted & giuen over; Or hath beene atchieued, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content euerie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken vpon Another, hath the quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne

Bowe. Discreet Followers and Seruants helpe much to *Reputation*. *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat*. Enuy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to diuine Prouidence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of *Soueraigne Honour* are these. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States*, and *Common-Wealths:* Such as were *Romulus*, *Cyrus*, *Cæsar*, *Ottoman*, *Ismael*. In the Second Place are *Legis-latores*, *Lawgiuers;* which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they Gouerne by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Iustinian*, *Eadgar*, *Alphonsus* of *Castile*, the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*. In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Saluatores:* Such as compound the long Miseries of Ciuill Warres, or deliuer their Countries from Seruitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As *Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, K. *Henry* the 7. of *England*, K. *Henry* the 4. of *France*. In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij;* Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Inuaders. And in the Last Place, are *Patres Patriæ;* which reigne iustly, & make the Times good, wherein they liue. Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in *Subiects* are; First, *Participes Curarum;*

Those vpon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The Next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders;* Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Seruices in the Warres. The Third are, *Gratiosi; Favourites;* Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Soueraigne, and Harmelesse to the People. And the Fourth, *Negotijs pares;* Such as haue great Places vnder Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselues*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of *their Countrey:* As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decij*.

Of Iudicature

LVI.

Iudges ought to remember, that their Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare; To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Giue Law*. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the *Church* of *Rome;* which vnder pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew* of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noueltie*. *Iudges* ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reuerend, then Plausible; And more Aduised, then Confident. Aboue all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that remoueth the Land-marke*. The Mislaier of a *Meere Stone* is to blame. But it is the Vniust *Iudge*, that is the Capitall Remouer of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith *Salomon; Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Aduersario*. The Office of *Iudges*, may haue Reference, Vnto the *Parties that sue;* Vnto the *Aduocates that Plead;* Vnto the *Clerkes* and *Ministers of Iustice* vnderneath them; And to the *Soueraigne* or *State* aboue them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that Sue. There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turne Iudgement into Worme-wood;* And surely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar;* For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a *Iudge*, is to suppresse Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Iudge* ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as *God* vseth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking downe Hills:* So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Aduantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a *Iudge* seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his *Iudgement*, as vpon an Euen Ground. *Qui fortitèr emungit, elicit sanguinem;* And where tne Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Iudges* must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to haue Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not vpon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos:* For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a *Shower of Snares* vpon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they haue beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne

vnfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Iudges* confined in the Execution; *Iudicis Officium est, vt Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.* In *Causes* of *Life* and *Death; Iudges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy; And to Cast a Seuere Eye vpon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye vpon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Aduocates* and *Counsell that Plead:* Patience and Grauitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Ouerspeaking *Iudge* is no *well tuned Cymball.* It is no Grace to a *Iudge*, first to finde that, which hee might haue heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Euidence or Counsell too short; Or to preuent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Iudge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Euidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene said; And to Giue the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoeuer is aboue these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of *Aduocates*, should preuaile with *Iudges;* Whereas they should imitate *God*, in whose Seat they sit; who *represseth the Presumptuous*, and *giueth Grace to the Modest.* But it is more Strange, that *Iudges* should haue Noted Fauourites; Which cannot but Cause

Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-waies. There is due from the *Iudge*, to the *Aduocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds, in the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*, a Ciuill Reprehension of *Aduocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Ouer-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsell* at the Barre, chop with the *Iudge*, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Iudge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Iudge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way; Nor giue Occasion to the Partie to say; *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.*

Thirdly, for that that concernes *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Iustice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserued without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles:* Neither can *Iustice* yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling *Clerkes* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subiect to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are the Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Iurisdiction,

and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ;* in puffing a Court vp beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Aduantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they peruert the Plaine and Direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring *Iustice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which iustifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Iustice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Vnderstanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court;* And doth many times point the way to the *Iudge* himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Soueraigne* and *Estate*. *Iudges* ought aboue all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelue Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex;* And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* doe often Consult with *Iudges;* And againe, when *Iudges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State:* The one, when there is Matter of Law, interuenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, interuenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to *Iudgement*, may bee

Meum and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of *Soueraigntie*, but whatsoeuer introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceiue, that Iust Laws, and True Policie, haue any *Antipathie:* For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moues with the Other. Let *Iudges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions vnder the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soueraigntie*. Let not *Iudges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Vse, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ vtatur Legitimè.*

Of Anger

LVII.

TO seeke to extinguish *Anger* vtterly, is but a Brauery of the *Stoickes*. We haue better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well, vpon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe vpon *Anger*, when the Fitt is throughly ouer. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, vpon that it fall's.* The Scripture exhorteth vs; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoeuer is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soule*. Men must not turne *Bees;*

——*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke

Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger*, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be aboue the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will giue Law to himselfe in it.

For the Second Point; The *Causes* and *Motiues* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt:* For no Man is *Angry*, that *Feeles* not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft *Angry:* They haue so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures haue little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offred, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that which putteth an Edge vpon *Anger*, as much, or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should haue, as *Consaluo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiorem*. But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleeue, that the Opportunity of his Reuenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserue it.

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must haue speciall Caution. The one, of extreme

Bitternesse of Words; Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much: And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reueale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily breake off*, in any Businesse, in a *Fit of Anger:* But howsoeuer you *shew* Bitternes, do not *Act* any thing, that is not Reuocable.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another; It is done chiefly, by *Choosing of Times.* When Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggrauate the *Contempt.* And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries.* The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an *Angry* Businesse: For the first Impression is much. And the other is, to seuer, as much as may be, the Construction of the Iniury, from the Point of *Contempt:* Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.

Of Vicissitude of Things

LVIII.

SAlomon saith; *There is no New Thing vpon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So *Salomon* giueth his Sentence; *That all Noueltie is but Obliuion.* Whereby you may see, that the Riuer of *Lethe*, runneth as well aboue Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith; *If it were not, for two things, that are Constant;* (*The one is, that the Fixed Starres euer stand at like distance, one from another, and neuer come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:*) *No Individuall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the *Matter*, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and neuer at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Obliuion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes.* As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. And the *Three yeares Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People Aliue. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People,

which hap to be reserued, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can giue no Account, of the Time past: So that the Obliuion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earth-quakes*, (As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis; That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake;*) But rather, that it was desolated, by a Particular *Deluge*. For *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they haue such *Powring Riuers*, as the *Riuers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but Brookes to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher, then those with vs; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, saued. As for the Obseruation, that *Machiauel* hath, that the *Iealousie* of *Sects*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; Traducing *Gregory* the *Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did reuiue the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would haue some Effect; Not in renew-

ing the State of like Indiuiduals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceiue the Celestiall Bodies, haue more accurate Influences, vpon these Things below, then indeed they haue) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, haue likewise Power and Effect, ouer the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed vpon, and waited vpon in their Iourney, then wisely obserued in their Effects; Specially in their Respectiue Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heauen, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I haue heard, and I would not haue it given ouer, but waited vpon a little. They say, it is obserued, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Euery Fiue and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I haue found some Concurrence.

But to leaue these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Sects*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens Minds most. The True *Religion* is *built vpon the Rocke;* The Rest are tost vpon the Waues of Time. To speake therefore, of the *Causes* of New *Sects;* And to giue some *Counsell* concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of

Humane Iudgement, can giue stay to so great Reuolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly receiued, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing vp of a *New Sect;* If then also there should arise, any Extrauagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *New Sect* haue not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giuing Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculatiue Heresies* (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily vpon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Helpe of Ciuill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *New Sects*. By the Power of *Signes* and *Miracles:* By the *Eloquence and Wisedome* of *Speech* and *Perswasion:* And by the *Sword*. For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles;* Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of *Superlatiue* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life*. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of *New Sects*, and *Schismes;* then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not

with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours, by Winning and Aduancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Warres* are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *Warre;* In the *Weapons;* And in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Warres* in ancient Time, seemed more to moue from *East* to *West:* For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars*, (which were the Inuaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the *Gaules* were Westerne; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* haue no certaine Points of Heauen: And no more haue the *Warres*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any Certainty of Obseruation. But *North* and *South* are fixed: And it hath seldome or neuer been seene, that the farre Southern People haue inuaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are vpon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern* Parts, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Vpon the *Breaking* and *Shiuering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to haue *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe eneruate and

destroy the Forces of the Natiues, which they haue subdued, resting vpon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire;* And likewise, in the *Empire* of *Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, euery Bird taking a Fether; And were not vnlike to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Vnions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre vp *Warres*. For when a State growes to an Ouer-Power, it is like a great Floud, that will be sure to ouerflow. As it hath beene seene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to liue; (As it is almost euery where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations of People: But when there be *great Shoales* of *People*, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People vpon other Nations: Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *Warre*. For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inuiteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth vnder Rule

and Obseruation: yet we see, euen they haue *Returnes* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the Citty of the *Oxidrakes* in *India:* And was that, which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the vse of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*, aboue 2000. yeares. The Conditions of *Weapons*, & their Improuement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherin likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inuentions. The third is, the commodious vse of them: As that they may serue in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *Warre:* At the first, Men rested extremely vpon *Number:* They did put the Warres likewise vpon *Maine Force*, and *Valour;* Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, vpon an euen Match: And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After they grew to rest vpon *Number*, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to *Aduantages*, of *Place*, *Cunning Diuersions*, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe flourish: In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning;* And then both of them together for a time: In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanicall Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and

almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Iuuenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good, to looke too long, vpon these turning Wheeles of *Vicissitude*, lest we become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

A
FRAGMENT
OF AN
ESSAY *of* FAME

THe *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a *flourish:* There follow excellent *Parables;* As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great *Citties:* But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame:* For certain it is, that *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*, and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Sisters; Masculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can

tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the *Poets*. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, lesse handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame*. We will, therefore, speak of these *points*. What are false *Fames;* And what are true *Fames;* And how they may be best discerned; How *Fames*, may be sown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the *Nature* of *Fame*. *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he scattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpose, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*, into *Germany;* And the Legions of *Germany*, into *Syria:* whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæsar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæsars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia*, setled all things, for the Succession, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her husband *Augustus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the *Basshawes*, to conceale the Death of the Great *Turk* from the *Janni-*

zaries, and men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themistocles*, made *Zerxes*, king of *Persia* poast apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpose, to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he made athwart *Hellespont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples;* And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.

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APPENDIX:

TEXT OF 1597 EDITION OF THE ESSAYS

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Eſſayes.

Religious Medi-
tations.

Places of perſwaſion
and diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

AT LONDON,
Printed for Humfrey Hooper
and are to be ſolde at the
blacke Beare in Chaun-
cery Lane. 1597.

A
8° B. 87.

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TO

M. ANTHONY BACON

his deare Brother

LOuing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduenture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they

would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure ~~you~~) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated vppon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

FRAN. BACON.

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Of Studies.

STudies serue for pastimes, for ornaments & for abilities. Their chiefe vse for pastime is in priuatenes and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse, and for abilitie is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

To spend too much time in them is slouth, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler.

They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by experience.

Craftie men contemne them, simple men admire them, wise men vse them: For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by obseruation.

Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider. Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and disgested: That is, some bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read, but cursorily, and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention.

Reading maketh a full man, conference a readye man, and writing an exacte man. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie, if he conferre little, he had neede haue a present

wit, and if he reade little, he had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not.

Histories make men wise, Poets wittie: the Mathematickes subtle, naturall Phylosophie deepe: Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend.

Of discourse.

SOme in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shoulde bee thought. Some haue certaine Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want varietie, which kinde of pouertie is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then ridiculous.

The honourablest part of talke, is to guide the occasion, and againe to moderate & passe to somewhat else.

It is good to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with earnest.

But some thinges are priuiledged from iest, namely Religion, matters of state, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pittie.

He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much, specially if hee applie his questions to the skill of the person of whome he asketh, for he shal giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge.

If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of

that you are thought to knowe, you shall bee thought another time to know that you know not.

Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, and there is but one case, wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth.

Discretion of speech is more than eloquence, and to speake agreably to him, with whome we deale is more then to speake in good wordes or in good order.

A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech, without a good set speech sheweth shallownesse and weaknes, as wee see in beastes that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne.

To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to vse none at all is blunt.

Of Ceremonies and Respects.

HE that is onely reall had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the stone had neede be rich that is set without foyle.

But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, *That light gaines make heauie Purses*: Because they come thicke, whereas great come but now and then, so it is as true that smal matters winne great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of any great vertue commeth but on holy-daies.

To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shal a man obserue them in others, and let him trust himselfe with the rest: for if he care to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small obseruations?

Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect; especially they be not to bee omitted to straungers and strange natures.

Amongst a mans Peires a man shall be sure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title to keepe state; amongst a mans inferiours one shall be sure of

reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.

Hee that is too much in any thing, so that he giue another occasion of satitietie, maketh himselfe cheape.

To applie ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facilitie.

It is a good precept generally in seconding another; yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction, if you wil follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleadging further reason.

Of followers and friends.

COstly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, hee make his wings shorter, I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearysome and importune in sutes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation and protection from wrong.

Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whome they raunge themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, whereupon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that wee many times see between great personages.

The following by certaine States answereable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imployed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it bee without too much pompe or popularitie.

But the most honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue & desert in all sortes of persons, and yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more

able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for, to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolente, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankefull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour.

It is good not to make too much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion.

To be gouerned by one is not good, and to be distracted with many is worse; but to take aduise of friends is euer honorable: *For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, And the vale best discouereth the hill.*

There is little friendship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene superiour and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Of Sutes.

MAnie ill matters are vndertaken, and many good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke or take a second reward. Some take hold of Sutes onely for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an information wherof they could not otherwise haue an apt precept, without care what become of the Sute, when that turne is serued. Nay some vndertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the aduerse partie or competitor.

Surely there is in sorte a right in euerie Sute, either a right of equitie, if it be a Sute of controuersie; or a right of desert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe it, without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer.

In Sutes a man doth not well vnderstand, it is good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may reporte whether he may deale in them with honor.

Suters are so distasted with delaies and abuses,

that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challendging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growen not only honourable but also gracious.

In Sutes of fauour the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may bee had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter coulde not otherwise haue beene had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note.

To be ignorant of the value of a Sute is simplicitie, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

Secrecie in Sutes is a great meane of obtaining, for voicing them to bee in forwardnes may discourage some kinde of suters, but doth quicken and awake others.

But tyming of the Sutes is the principall, tyming I saye not onely in respect of the person that shoulde graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.

Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

Of Expence.

RIches are for spending, and spending for honour & good actions. Therefore extraordinarie Expence must bee limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may bee as well for a mans countrie, as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinarie expence ought to bee limited by a mans estate, and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceite and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bils maye be lesse then the estimation abroad.

It is no basenes for the greatest to descend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But *Woundes cannot bee cured without searching.*

He that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them after. For new are more timerous and lesse subtle.

In clearing of a mans estate, hee may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it runne on too long, for hastie selling is commonly as disaduantageable as interest.

He that hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable

to abridge pettie charges then to stoupe to pettie gettings.

A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may be more magnificent.

Of Regiment of health.

THere is a wisdome in this beyond the rules of Phisicke. A mans owne obseruation what he finds good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserue health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth well with me, therefore I will continue it, then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may vse it. For strength of nature in youth passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age.

Discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same things still.

Beware of any suddain change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie inforce it, fit the rest to it.

To be free minded, and chearefully disposed at howers of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting.

If you flie Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body, when you shall neede it, if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect when sicknesse commeth.

Despise no new accident in the body, but aske opinion of it.

In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onelye with diet and tendring.

Physitians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humours of the patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to Arte for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee found in one man, compound two of both sorts, & forget not to cal as wel the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

Of Honour and reputation.

THe winning of Honour is but the reuealing of a mans vertue and worth without disaduantage, for some in their actions doe affect Honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valewed in opinion.

If a man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath beene atchieued, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour then by effecting a matter of greater difficultie or vertue, wherein he is but a follower.

If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them hee doe content euerie faction or combination of people, the Musicke will be the fuller.

A man is an ill husband of his Honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carrying of it through can Honour him.

Discreete followers helpe much to reputation.

Enuie which is the canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his ends, rather to seeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans successes rather to diuine prouidence & felicitie then to his vertue or pollicie.

The true Marshalling of the degrees of Soueraigne

honour are these. In the first place are *Conditores*, founders of states. In the second place are *Legislatores* Lawgiuers, which are also called second founders, or *Perpetui principes*, because they gouerne by their ordinances after they are gone. In the third place are *Liberatores*, such as compound the long miseries of ciuill warres, or deliuer their Countries from seruitude of strangers or tyrants. In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores imperii*, such as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Inuaders. And in the last place are *Patres patriæ*, which raigne iustly and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of honour in subiects are first *Participes curarum*, those vpon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their *Right handes* (as wee call them). The next are *Duces belli*, great leaders, such as are Princes, Lieutenants, & do them notable seruices in the wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, fauorites, such as exceede not this scantling to bee sollace to the Soueraigne, and harmlesse to the people. And the fourth *Negotiis pares*, such as haue great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiencie.

Of Faction.

MAnie haue a newe wisedome, indeed, a fond opinion; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principal part of pollicie. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisedome is in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of seuerall Factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one, But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected.

Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way.

The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in coniunction.

When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth which is good for a second Faction. It is commonly seene that men once placed, take in with the contrarie faction to that by which they enter.

The Traitor in Factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters haue stucke long in ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and hee getteth all the thankes.

Of Negociating.

IT is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a thirde then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man woulde draw an answere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter. To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiours.

In choyce of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other mens businesse somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake.

It is better to sound a person with whome one deales a farre off, then to fal vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprise him by some shorte question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where they would be.

If a man deale with another vppon conditions, the starte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other partie that he

shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he bee counted the honester man.

All practise is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnwares & of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot find an apt precept. If you woulde worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions and so leade him, or his ends, and so winne him, or his weaknesses or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him and so gouerne him.

In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

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